

These views may be erroneous. They differ from those of most of my friends. The mass of the community do not accord with them. But they are unalterably impressed upon my mind. I cannot shake them off. They are all supported by the instructive but neglected voice of history. I possess not the happy faculty with which so many are endowed. I cannot believe an event will not take place, because I hope and pray it may not. I am disposed to envy those who are thus gifted. It diminishes the hours of suffering. In a life so chequered as ours, this is some advantage. But it has, like all other blessings, a counterpoising evil.—When we disbelieve in the approach of danger, we make no preparations to repel it.

With these impressions I preferred risking any consequences however pernicious to myself, that might arise from the present address, to a state of torpor and inactivity—to perishing without an effort. In a sanguine moment, I indulged the flattering, the fond, (pray heaven it may not be the delusive) hope that my efforts might be so far crowned with success, as to make me the happy, the blessed instrument of arousing even one, two, or three active, influential citizens from the morbid, the lethargic slumber, into which the community has been so fatally lulled; that these might arouse others; and that thus the potent spells might be dissolved, which, in a manner unexampled in the history of the world, make us regard with stupid, torpid apathy and indifference, the actual bankruptcy of our government (produced by a most daring conspiracy)—the impending destruction of our glorious constitution, the work of Washington, Franklin, Livingston, Hamilton, &c. the depreciation of every species of property—and the approaching ruin of our country. Should heaven thus bless me, die afterwards when I may, I shall not have lived in vain. Should I fail, on my tombstone shall be graven, “*magnis excidit ausis.*”

I offer these great and solemn truths to the consideration of all who have an interest in the welfare of this country.

I. *A separation of the states cannot be effected without an immediate CIVIL, and an almost continual BORDER WAR; and it must inevitably place us at the mercy of England, and make this country the sport of the European powers at all future times.*

II. As well might we expect to re-unite, without flaw, the fragments of an elegant porcelain vase, shattered to pieces, as to restore the union, if dissolved but for one hour.

III. A period of war, and invasion, and danger, is utterly unfit for repairing or amending a constitution. Nothing but convulsion can arise out of the attempt.

IV. General Washington, in his legacy, one of the noblest efforts of human wisdom, impressively urged his countrymen to frown indignantly upon any attempt to impair or dissolve the union.

V. To hostile European powers a dissolution would be of immense and incalculable advantage.

VI. It would be inexpressible folly and madness to reject the policy dictated by Washington, and follow that which would be dictated by those powers of Europe who regard our prosperity with jealousy.

PLAN OF AN UNION SOCIETY.

“Above all things hold dear your national union. Accustom yourselves to estimate its infinite value to your individual and national happiness. Look on it as the palladium of your tranquillity at home; of your peace abroad; of your safety; of your prosperity; and even of that liberty which you so highly prize.”

Washington's Farewell Address.

WHEREAS many disaffected citizens have long labored to prepare the public mind for a dissolution of the union, and the formation of separate confederacies; and whereas they have at length publicly and daringly avowed their flagitious designs; and whereas the experience of all history to the present time affords the most complete proof that such dissolutions of existing forms of government, and